NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

5 cents

Vol. 4, No. 17 NEW YORK, N. Y., FEBRUARY 13, 1952

Photo by Leo Goldstein, from ASP Graphic Workshop Exhibit, Negro History Week, ASP, 47 W. 44th St., N. Y. C.

ARCHITECTS OF PEACE

Just two American kids who are friends and want to stay that way as they grow up—kids to whom brotherhood, the foundation stone of peace, comes naturally. They don't know yet that in their country pledged to the principle that "all men are created equal," the law can take children from their mother when she teaches them to act on that principle (see Jean Field story, p. 5). They don't know yet of the terror unleashed around their country against citizens for not being born white (see p. 9). When they learn about the epic struggle for full citizenship of the "freed" descendants of slaves (see Negro History Week special section, pp. 6, 7), will freedom still be a mocking word — or a reality at last?

WAR & PEACE

Crises among allies fail to jar Washington jingoes

WASHINGTON last week became "a city surfeited with crises" (Alsop brothers, Feb. 10). King George's death overshadowed only momentarily Britain's threatened bankruptcy with its "appalling danger" (Alsops) to the Anglo-U.S. alliance. France, whose new premier Faure barely won a confidence vote on his wage program, scraped the bottom of the barrel; it faced either digging into its hard currency reserve (less than a billion in dollars and gold), with possibly disastrous effects on the already-weakened franc, or abandoning rearmament.

France's relations with West Germany so deteriorated "that the bases of America's European policy have been shaken" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, Feb. 10). Secy. Acheson had to admit that the Atlantic Pact council meeting in Lisbon Feb. 20, aimed at "decisive" decisions on the long-postponed question of the European Army and West Germany's "defense contribution," would take no major decisions at all. There was still no "full agreement to the increased defense expenditure urged upon the governments in December" by the Harriman Committee (Harold Callender, N.Y. **Times**, Feb. 9). **Fortune** (Dec., 1951) saw the effect of the U.S.-imposed arms load on W. Europe as something like

> ... loading a 75mm pack howitzer on a sick mule. The mule can't carry the gun; it ain't even willing.

OMENS & DESPERATION: With "sentiment in favor of evacuating Indo-China . . . mounting in France" (William Stoneman, Chicago **Daily News**, Jan. 22), Gen. Brink, U.S. military mission chief in Indo-China, headed for Washington for "personal consultations on this ominously critical situation" (Robert S. Allen, Feb. 7); and the Pentagon gave "the desperately embattled French and Viet Nam . . . number 1 priority for U.S. military assistance" topping that of both Europe and Korea except in jet planes. British desperation in Malaya was reflected in last week's **AP** dispatch that 18 villages have been punished

> ... under the stern provisions of emergency regulations banning collaboration with Communist terrorists. The regulation carries punishments such as the razing of an entire village. ...

A pillar of Washington hopes in Asia sagged as the Communists emerged

(Continued on Page 3)

Edith Sampson makes the grade—as the State Dept. band plays 'Dixie'

By Andrew Overgaard
GUARDIAN special correspondent

HELLERUP, DENMARK

"IF Negroes didn't like conditions in the South, all they would have to do would be to take a bus, train or plane, and go north. But they prefer to stay in their beautiful homes and take care of their land. ... I'm sure the white people will settle our problems."

This was the statement given to the press at the U.S. Embassy in Copenhagen Jan. 27—not by a Dixie polltax senator, but by a prominent American Negro woman. She was Mrs. Edith Sampson, U.S. delegate to the UN, who for two weeks has been in Scandinavia broadcasting the State Dept. version of "Negro Life in America."

Mrs. Sampson also said at her press conference:

> "Progress has been so great, Negroes will have complete and full equality within five years. Paul Robeson is beginning to waste people's time making speeches. His passport has not been taken away because he is a Negro. When he says untruths about America, we cannot allow him to travel. If I were in the State Dept., I would also take his passport away."

UNCLE TOMS IN CADILLACS: On Jan. 29 Mrs. Sampson spoke before a well-to-do audience of 300 at the National Museum here under auspices of the Danish Women's Natl. Council and Social Political Assn. She had this to say on slavery:

> "When slaves were told they were free, after the Emancipation Proclamation, many cried, because they had good masters. . . . If a slave died, his owner lost his investment, so the owner saw to it that the slaves were well fed and protected."

The picture of Negro life in America was rounded out with these highlights:

- "The Governor of S. Carolina is an old man. That's why he insists on discrimination."
- "Negroes won't buy second-hand cars. They buy Cadillacs—big, black, shiny ones."
- "We have slums, but a lot of white people live in slums too."
- "It's a perfectly natural thing for a Negro to be accepted as a professor in a white college if he is good in his field."
- "People say Negroes are last to be hired and first to be fired. That's not true. Management is interested in profits, so when it cuts down, it keeps those who perform best. Of course, shiftless Negroes are fired."
- "The Daughters of the American Revolution have been very ashamed since denying Constitution Hall to Marian Anderson."

MINK TAKES DIM VIEW: The National Museum audience was frankly skeptical. Mrs. Kirsten Lauritzen, socially prominent wife of a shipowner, said:

> "I do not think Mrs. Sampson is serving the best interests of the Negro people. I question the advisability of making speeches that seem to be very one-sided. I believe one thing that has caused progress for Negroes is the opposition to discrimination in Europe, which is felt in the U.S.A. All must keep up the sentiment in Europe against discrimination; otherwise I do not believe Negroes can get equality in five years, as Mrs. Sampson predicts."

Mrs. Sampson was irritated because many others in the audience disputed her glowing picture. A young Negro student, the only Negro present, asked for the floor several times in vain. Afterwards he said Mrs. Sampson had completely distorted the truth.

ANGER IN STOCKHOLM: In Gothenburg, Sweden, Mrs. Sampson angrily left her meeting before it was adjourned, because she did not like the questions from the floor. At that meeting she urged the banning of **Uncle Tom's Cabin.**

(A GUARDIAN correspondent in Sweden, Rea Stanton, sent a transcript of Mrs. Sampson's address in Stockholm, containing these statements: "Jimcrow still exists in the South—but it is such a silly thing"; "in Northern cities like Chicago Negroes own property in various spots throughout a city"; "today the KKK has disappeared—forced to close down because it has been declared illegal, its leaders tried and sent to the penitentiary." Commented Rea Stanton:

> In Scandinavia the very concept of discrimination is incredible, and American Negroes are welcomed with special warmth and heard with special attention. Apparently the Truman administration is meeting the criticisms from abroad about the condition of U.S. minority groups by brazenly denying that such conditions exist. I believe that Mrs. Sampson, as a Negro of international standing, in lending herself to this cynical program, is guilty of such disloyalty not only to her own people but to the entire nation that a campaign for her recall should be initiated.)

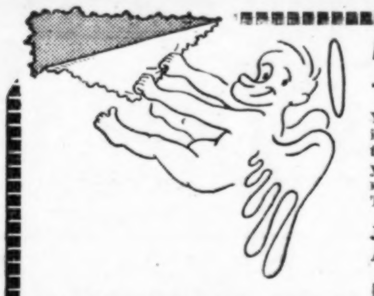
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT and EDITH SAMPSON
Once upon a time in a never-never land

A DEPORTEE SPEAKS: In Copenhagen Jan. 28 a capacity audience of 900 workers heard your correspondent give his version of Negro life in America. They applauded enthusiastically each time Paul Robeson's name was mentioned, and unanimously passed a resolution urging the U.S. government to return his passport, so he can travel to Denmark and other countries which would like to hear him sing and speak.

Your correspondent answered the statements about the fine treatment of U.S. Negroes by Mrs. Sampson and U.S. Ambassador Mrs. Eugenia Anderson, who at Mrs. Sampson's press conference had both made a point of stressing that there was "only one lynching" in 1951. (When a reporter mentioned Negroes who were shot and bombed, both ladies had answered: "Oh, that's different—that's not lynching. Lynching is where a person is hanged by a mob.") He asked Mrs. Sampson why she did not use her offices in UN to expose the chain-gangs and intolerable jail conditions in the South, to stop the flogging of children in UN protectorates, instead of harping on "Soviet slave camps." He reminded both ladies of the persecution of Dr. DuBois and William Patterson, and that Truman had not mentioned civil rights or the Negro question in his State of the Union speech.

The meeting was chaired by Mayor Johannes Hansen. A huge portrait of Paul Robeson was displayed back of the speaker's stand.

• Arrested for deportation in 1949 as a "subversive alien," Andrew Overgaard who came to the U.S. in 1925 "voluntarily" returned to Denmark in Nov., 1950. He was secy. of the militant Trade Union Unity League which broke from the AFL in 1928; helped lay foundations for the CIO United Steelworkers; brought the Die Casters Union (later merged with Mine-Mill) into the CIO; was a natl. organizer for Food, Tobacco & Agricultural Workers.



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Letters of fire

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Our economic royalty, along with their parasitic court menage of lackeys, jesters, soothsayers, sorcerers, bards and men-at-arms, by royal proclamation tell us to prepare to make colossal sacrifices for the "true" faith. But throughout the kingdom many good subjects know that this is only a stratagem to maintain their lordly ways and lordly privileges.

Furthermore, the writing on the palace wall, in letters of fire, reads: Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin!

Sam Pavlovic

Another savior crucified

MONTROSE, COLO.

Witter Bynner, professor of poetry at Univ. of California at Berkeley, wrote of Eugene Debs after his sentence to Atlanta prison (Debs' prison number was the theme):

Nine-six-five-three,
Numbers heard in heaven.
Numbers counted with the stars,
Mystical as seven.
Another savior of mankind
Crucified and risen,
Another saint behind the bars,
Another God in prison.

I think of Harry T. Moore in the same role of human sacrifice.

P. C.

Return the doctors

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I know many GUARDIAN readers will want to register their protests against the callous dismissal of the three eminent physicians from the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles by its cowardly, appeasement-minded Board of Trustees. How callous an action this was is perhaps best demonstrated by their own words: after admitting that the firings were for "political reasons" they were forced to admit that the doctors "had brought nothing but glory and credit to the hospital."

Perhaps more than when ten of us motion picture writers and directors went to prison, perhaps more than the jailing of the Communist leaders, and even more than the disgraceful hounding and blacklisting of teachers and educators, this persecution of doctors will hit home. For certainly, if this is not stopped, will it not be necessary, if one's child needs an emergency operation, to check first, and find out if your doctor has passed his loyalty oath? Is the doctor to be forced to change allegiance, from Hippocrates to McCarthy? How long will it be before this plague hits your city?

But it can be stopped. Letters are being directed to the Board from all over the country and abroad. You can help the doctors to be reinstated by writing to Mr. Ben Meyer, chairman of the board, Cedars of Lebanon, 4833 Fountain Av., Los Angeles.

Lester Cole

Edgar—search the mint!

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Labor, published by the railroad brotherhood, quotes this from an unnamed source:

"The U. S. Mint is releasing Jefferson half-dollars. On them, barely legible, are initials 'J. R. S.' Stories are sweeping the country that they are the initials of Josef Stalin, put on the coins by Communist employes in the mint."

Pointing out that (a) the initials are those of John R. Sinnock, who designed the Jefferson coin, and (b) Stalin's initials are J. V. S., *Labor* comments: "When a silly story like that can 'sweep the country,' it's time to stop and think." Personally, it makes me think of George Bernard Shaw's remark that the other planets must be using the earth as their insane asylum.

Herbert Holder

Sunset over Winston

WESTERLY, R. I.

I never thought I could feel sympathy for Winston Churchill, but now I do. Lionheart has limped away from the U. S. after a series of indignities unmatched since he was taken prisoner by the Boers.

The first thing that happened to Churchill and Eden coming up the bay was that Mayor Impellitteri stuck his head between theirs for a photograph. It was an ill omen.

Then the British went to Washington. Once they had burned the place, now they were required to mingle with Harry Truman and John Snyder. Churchill was then forced to surrender the British Empire before Congress.

The old man made for New York to try to save something by talking to Barney Baruch. He left Barney's for a few days to see the Canadians. When he came back, there, by God, were Impy and Grover Whalen again. Impy was fresh from crowning Miss Brassiere of 1952. Grover wanted to take Churchill for a ride. At City Hall Impy and Grover would pose handing Churchill a medal.

The Churchill of yesterday would have told Impy to run along and give his perishing medal to Miss Rheingold. But the old man, now almost totally deaf and dazed, begged off by taking to his bed with a cold. Nothing daunted, Impy crashed the bedchamber and hung this thing around the old man's neck; hardly had he scurried way when Francis Cardinal Spellman appeared. Churchill lay helpless while the Prince of the Church had his say.

The gloomy rain kept falling up to boat time and the stricken leader walked slowly down the pier. There was a last flicker o the old defiant smile. At least he had managed to cancel a dinner party that evening with Tom Dewey.

Jeff Pickering

He knew where he was going

(Showing of Hollywood's Quo Vadis *has raised an outcry in London. Labour MP Christopher Mayhew, who walked out on the opening night saying he was "insulted by being invited," commented: "Deliberately created spectacles of extreme cruelty and violence. . . . The U. S. would do well to ban the export of films of this kind which give the impression of coming from a society as decadent as Nero's Rome.")*

Daily Express, London

"But don't you realize, dear Lady Littlehampton, that if Mr. Butler hadn't cut foreign travel we shouldn't have had enough dollars to import foreign culture!"

An even split

WINTHROP, MASS.

A small group of us, all avid GUARDIAN readers, had a party in a private home. We ate a little less, charged ourselves a little more, and are dividing the proceeds between the Progressive Party and the GUARDIAN. Am enclosing check for exactly half our profits, with our hearty good wishes for many good years to come.

Frances M. Carver

The awful truth

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

Westbrook Pegler's column appearing in the Jan. 28 Binghamton (N. Y.) *Press*, contains the following interesting and amusing excerpt:

> **"The Russian Communists, those dirty dogs, have been circulating among the laboring people of Western Germany a series of scurrilous and venomous but unfortunately truthful pamphlets about persons and aspects of life in my beloved country."**

Pegler was writing under a Frankfurt, Germany, dateline. I wonder just what it is that he is cussing the Communists about? Can it be that he objects to having the truth about his "beloved country" made public?

Geo. C. Marcley

No Yankee Doodlers

BUTTE, MONT.

Under the Japanese Treaty we are to have the use of airfields in Japan and permission to keep soldiers there, ostensibly to protect her against Russian aggression but in reality to protect Hirohito and the six families owning most of the wealth in Japan from their own people in case of riots.

While they don't shout it from the house-tops nor publicize it in the papers, the Japanese have not forgotten Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and when the war prisoners come back home, they are not whistling Yankee Doodle but more likely singing some Bolshevik song.

A. E. Anderson

The only gift

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

Up to now we have been borrowing the GUARDIAN. However, it has reached the point where we can't do without reading it regularly.

To give you an idea to what extent it is a sacrifice for us to do this, we wish to inform you that the second enclosed subscription is the only Christmas gift we have been able to afford this year. It is for our dearest friend, with whom we always share the good things in life.

We appreciate the GUARDIAN mainly because it can compare to the best European papers, combining a complete factual picture with the highest standard of journalism.

Harry Barash

Fear

CHELAN, WASH.

It is a well-known fact that man's greatest fears are derived from the things or conditions about which he knows the least, or about which he has been grossly misinformed. With this as a starting point, Hitler's regime first enlisted the Press. Shackling of the people's freedom of thought and activity was then clear-cut and simple.

With terrorism and talk of a 10-year war, America's 99% big-business controlled press and radio appear to be attempting to drown out public demands and appeals for peace. And with American fascist powers strengthened a hundred-fold by war and "defense" profits of the past ten years, it appears that the only psychological defense mechanism our people have left against a totalitarian, fascist fate, and indefinite war conditions, is—mass refusal to entertain fear of any nature, regardless of origin.

Abraham Lincoln said: "If it [danger to our institutions] ever reach us it must spring up amongst us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men we must live through all time, or die by suicide."

And to this, without fear, [illegible] add, Amen!

Helen Re[illegible]

Cold war, cold lunch

ALBANY, ORE.

We have just had another proof in Oregon that hot and cold wars result in cold lunches for school kids. A communication from the state office of the School Lunch Program stated that the allocation to Oregon from the federal funds had been cut 16.75%. This makes a continuation of the hot lunch program prohibitive. The $5\frac{1}{2}$c per meal per child which we are now allowed does not even pay for the milk which is a requirement in the lunch. Perhaps we will have to take our school youngsters over to Europe before we can get the use of some of the outrageous taxes we have to pay.

Inez Campbell

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Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Re-entered as second class matter March 17, 1950 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Executive Editor*

EDITORIAL DEPT.: Elmer Bendiner, Lawrence Emery, Tabitha Petran. [illegible] EDITOR: Robert Joyce. ADVERTISING: Robert E. Light. BUSINESS and PROMOTION: Leon Summit. SUBSCRIPTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. Chicago advertising and circulation: Ruth Miller, 166 W. Washington Street, RA 6-9270.

Vol. 4, No. 17 — 178 — FEBRUARY 13, 1952

REPORT TO READERS

Recommended reading for Negro History Month

PAGES SIX AND SEVEN of this issue of the GUARDIAN are devoted principally to excerpts from Paul Robeson's monthly publication **Freedom.** We of the GUARDIAN believe that every GUARDIAN reader, indeed every American who terms himself or herself progressive, should be a **Freedom** subscriber.

On Page 6 there is a convenient subscription blank to **Freedom** which we ask you most earnestly to clip out and mail as you read the accompanying material. We say to you with complete conviction that your most effective contribution to the objectives of Negro History Month can be to assure yourself reliable, year-round contact with the Negro people through the columns of **Freedom.** In the course of doing this you can help **Freedom** with its task of reaching a sustaining readership, as so many of you have tried to do for the GUARDIAN.

ANOTHER PUBLICATION we should like to commend to you during Negro History Month is **Masses & Mainstream,** price 35c a copy, $4 a year, address 382 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. It is probably no exaggeration to term **Masses & Mainstream** the most literate American publication of our days because it is produced monthly by some of the finest and most thoughtful writers in America—men and women who have not permitted the hysteria of the times, or the compulsions to compromise with it for security's sake, to deflect their talents from their convictions.

The February Negro **History Month** issue contains several notable contributions among a wholly distinguished list of contents. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, on the occasion of his 84th birthday, writes on the years "Between Birthdays." Herbert Aptheker, author of the monumental **Documentary History of the Negro People in America,** writes of Frederick Douglass. Author Lloyd Brown (**Iron City**) looks back through his correspondence with Willie Jones, framed and executed 10 years ago by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

These two publications, then—**Freedom** and **Masses & Mainstream**—we commend to you especially during Negro History Month and for the year-round as well.

ALSO, we call to your attention—as a straight business matter between us—the state of your GUARDIAN subscription, which you can check in a twinkling by the date on your subscription address-plate on Page One. If your subscription is due or overdue for renewal, please renew it at once and save us the cost of mailing you reminders.

—THE EDITORS

Crises among allies fail to jar U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

as second strongest party in India's first national elections. The N.Y. **Times** (Feb. 10) reported that the Communists contested far fewer seats than Nehru's Congress Party, but where they did win "they piled up enormous majorities" and have the advantage that

> . . . in immense contrast to the general run of Congress politicians and officials, the Communists elected to office are for the most part men of outstanding ability, cleverness and popular appeal. . . .

In Japan, where former Asst. Secy. of State Rusk sought to negotiate a U.S. security pact, "the Japanese show no enthusiasm" (**Overseas News Agency**, Feb. 6); they were demanding that Japan not be turned into an atomic base against Asia (**NYT**, Feb. 10).

SHEETS & PILLOWCASES: The surfeit of crises, any one of which would once have had Washington in an uproar, produced little more than a murmur. Congress went about its usual business. A House committee was enthralled by a man with a pillowcase over his head who said he saw Russians commit the Katyn massacre of Polish Army officers during World War II. (Nazi responsibility for it was established at the Nuremberg trials where the court was governed by rules of evidence and the Germans permitted to present their case in full.) A Senate committee absorbed the first phase of "the annual Pentagon offensive against Congress" (James Reston, **NYT**, Feb. 6) for its $52 billion arms appropriation, with the Pentagon removing bedsheets from a hardware exhibit: a new bombsight (cost: $250,000 each) alongside an old Norden bombsight (cost: $8,000); a World War II 40mm anti-aircraft gun ($10,000) beside a new radar-controlled gun ($275,000). One intrepid senator asked about waste. Reston described the Pentagon answer:

> Secy. Lovett said waste was a terrible thing and the visual education experts immediately went over to the attack. They hoisted a series of large posters to a large stand in front of the senators. These showed that the Pentagon was unalterably opposed to waste. One poster warned the GI not to load his plate at mealtime with more food than he could eat. . . . Another took a firm stand against soldiers or sailors with muddy feet ("Hey, Mac, wipe off that mud! Floors cost money. Let's get floor conscious"). The senators seemed impressed.

In the House, a staff member of an investigating committee told the **Wall St. Journal** (Jan. 28) that the Pentagon was wasting billions: at least $5 billion is wasted each year simply from lack of common buying habits among the services. Another committee had prepared a Chamber of Horrors showing identical combat boots for which the Army paid $8 more than the Marine Corps; trouble lights—cost to Signal Signal Corps $2.50, to Army Ordnance $5; barracks bags—cost to Army $1.14, to Marines $3.90. But Congress, after these initial gestures, could be expected to give the Pentagon all it asked.

"DANGEROUS AMATEURS": In the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee scuttled the Yalta agreement: ratifying the Japanese treaty, it repudiated U.S. recognition of Soviet title to South Sakhalin, the Kurile and other adjacent islands. The N.Y. **Times** (Feb. 7) called this "the legal consequences of Soviet perfidy."

Under obvious State Dept. inspiration, the Italian government notified Moscow it considered the Italian peace treaty void since Moscow had again vetoed Italy's admission to UN. (N.Y. **Times'** Thomas J. Hamilton, Feb. 10, said of this veto "this time Italy and a number of Italy's supporters appeared to hold the U.S. responsible" because the U.S. rejected the Soviet package deal for admission of 14 new members.)

Washington's diplomacy, wrote Walter Lippmann (Feb. 5), was that of

> . . . dangerous amateurs [who would] like to cross all the bridges over all the rivers ahead of them and to burn them all behind them. They believe that the way to impress your enemy is to go Wilson . . . one better and to plump for open war plans openly arrived at.
>
> [The effect is] to alienate great multitudes of the people of Asia and of Europe who fear and distrust a n... which talks so much and on so many different occasions about the terrible destruction and human agony it can and may cause; [and] to imprison our diplomacy in the formula of all or nothing—in a self-inflicted strait-jacket where it can do nothing by negotiation because that is by definition appeasement and it can do nothing by the big threats because that—in their own sober second thoughts—is suicide.

EISENHOWER'S NEW ARMY.
De Groene Amsterdammer

W. Europe falling apart

IMPLEMENTATION of Washington's "big threats" required, too, the support of its allies. With West Europe's crisis deepening, allied support for extension of the war in Asia seemed unlikely. Although the British Labour Party's cross-examination of Churchill's Far East commitments to Washington was interrupted by King George's death, British opposition to a war on China had already been registered in press and public forum. Suspicions were aroused rather than quieted by Eden's patently false assurance that he had heard "no single word in any responsible quarters" in the U.S. to support the charge that Washington wanted to extend the war. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported from London:

> As anxiety about the drift to war deepens, the hold of the right-wing Labour leaders weakens. The London Co-Operative Society, biggest in the country, is organizing a conference on German rearmament.
>
> In many areas affected by Japanese and West German competition, the trade unions are calling conferences to demand government action to protect the employment and standards of British workers. Teachers, parents, trade unionists and others are joining together to resist the cuts in education and are realizing that to save education war spending must be cut.

Disinterested viewers, according to the N.Y. **World-Telegram** Feb. 2, "think it will be touch and go whether Churchill can survive for long. . . . Aneurin Bevan's left wing is increasing its influence among labor's ranks." The Alsops (Feb. 10) feared that

> . . . the stringent sacrifices now being imposed . . . might quite conceivably bring down the Churchill government. . . . The Anglo-American alliance, the hard core of strength in the Western world, could hardly survive a Bevanite British government.

RAMPAGING GERMANS: The "whole structure of the Western defense program" was threatened by West Germany's inflation of its price for rearming (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, Feb. 10). The Bonn parliament approved 204 to 156 Chancellor Adenauer's plans for a German contribution to a European Army, but only if these demands were met: the occupation regime ended, including controls on industry; foreign troops permitted in Germany only on the same terms as in other countries; release of war criminals; rearmament costs to be estimated by the same methods used in other allied countries with consideration given to Germany's "special burdens"; political freedom for the Saar; full equality in the "European defense community"; allied aid in achieving unification. Implicit was a further demand for "re-creation of a high command and general staff to direct and control its ground and air forces" (N.Y. **Times**, Feb. 10). Adenauer subsequently announced that West Germany would regain the East (presumably including the Polish territories) "when the West is strong enough."

These conditions, wrote Drew Middleton from Bonn (**NYT**, Feb. 9), "can bring to a dead stop the whole process of organizing a system of European security in which West Germany is to be an important member." Even before the Bonn parliament voted these de-

(Continued on Page 4)

Reynolds News, London

"I only said, 'Remember the good old austerity days before Churchill set us free!'"

C. B. BALDWIN WRITES:

Why Progressive Party must run its own ticket in 1952

By C. B. Baldwin
Secretary, Progressive Party

PRIMARIES, said President Truman last month, are a lot of eyewash. In the frankest undemocratic statement in years, the Democratic President said if he wanted the nomination, he would get it from his party's convention in July.

Some Democratic eyes may be opened by this "eyewash" statement. Truman's arrogance reveals that it is Truman's policies and, above all, his foreign policy—endorsed by both Democratic and Republican parties—that will determine the Democratic candidate in 1952. In other words, if you want to run for President, clear it with Harry, not the people.

Sen. Estes Kefauver cleared it with Harry in a well-publicized White House visit. He solidly backs the Truman Doctrine, waves the atom bomb, is mildly liberal and has the added glamor of his crime shows. But his crime act stepped on the toes of some Democratic political bosses, and although none has so far been hurt, Kefauver is pretty much poison to them.

THERE NOW EMERGES Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, a quite likely candidate, foursquare on Truman foreign policy, personable, and striving manfully to keep his liberal halo on straight. He is the kind of candidate suited to those who remain tied hand and foot to the Truman foreign policy but plaintively yearn for the Fair Deal they know that foreign policy makes impossible.

Los Angeles, Mirror

"All I did was open my mouth, and then—"

Douglas, the man most liberals ask about, fails to pass the Truman test. He dissents on foreign policy. He recognizes that Point Four is real "eyewash" which fails to face up squarely to the profoundly revolutionary anti-colonial movement of Asia. He dissents on letting the military run foreign and domestic policy. He dissents on the all-pervasive fear built up to silence opposition to Truman's foreign policy, specifically the Smith Act.

Many Democrats share Douglas' views. But so far—and I stress so far—no leadership has advanced that candidacy. The fact that no leadership for Douglas has emerged and that Douglas himself has given no encouragement both reflect the recognition that Truman and the policies he represents will dictate the Democratic nomination.

LIBERAL AND LABOR circles are waking up to some cruel facts. If they should challenge the Truman *diktat*, they would get support within the ranks of a badly discouraged Democratic party. Such a challenge could not come too soon, but the chances are that it will come too late, if it comes at all.

We who are fighting for peace would be foolish to wait for such a problematical awakening. We would be lacking in responsibility to the millions of independent voters, we would be as deficient in leadership as those we criticize, if we did not move at once to place our Progressive Party presidential peace ticket in the field. We who believe in peace through negotiation, in a restoration of the Bill of Rights, in a peacetime economy devoted to securing the Economic Bill of Rights promised by Roosevelt in 1944, can't wait for miracles to happen in the Democratic Party.

We have a practical job to do, a job whose urgency is dictated by the political calendar. The fact is that elections are won in February, March, April, May and June, not in November. These are the months when we must assure our place on the ballot nationally to ensure that there will be a chance to vote for peace.

The more quickly and effectively we move to secure our place on the ballot and make our position and candidates known to the general public, the more surely the rank and file voters of the old parties will awake to the fact that their parties offer them no alternatives to war and insecurity.

Our primary job is to make certain that, come November, the old-party rank and files won't find themselves all waked up and no place to go.

CHICAGO FIREWORKS SPARK REUBEN'S MIDWEST TOUR

Rosenberg Case rally held despite canceled hall

By Sidney Ordower
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

CHICAGO

THE first fireworks of William A. Reuben's midwest speaking tour in behalf of the Rosenbergs, now under death sentence as "atom spies," went off on Monday of last week in connection with the meeting scheduled for Wednesday at Temple Judea. This is in the Jewish working-class and lower middle-class 24th ward, long known as the personal property of Democratic boss Jake Arvey.

Without warning the rabbi of the Temple informed the Progressive Party that the meeting, widely publicized for a month, must be canceled because of protests from chief American Legion witch-hunter Edward Clamage and from the Chicago office of the Anti-Defamation League. (ADL director Albert Rosen, telephoned by GUARDIAN advertiser Lou Blumberg, said those seeking to bring the Rosenberg case into the open were being "anti-Semitic.")

LEAFLET FOR THE RALLY
The issue: right to be heard

CANCELED, RECANCELED: The Progressive Party went to work and by a phone-call deluge got the rabbi to backtrack, the president of the board of directors to receive a delegation Monday night. When the case was explained to the latter, he said free speech should be guaranteed and the meeting would go on as scheduled. But on Wednesday, the morning of the meeting day, a telegram canceled the meeting again and the deposit made six weeks before was returned. Expressed reason for the cancellation, signed by no individual but over typewritten words "By order of the Board of Directors": the heretofore unknown "controversial nature" of the meeting.

The synagogue posted a sign: "This Temple will be closed all day Wednesday." Innocent casualties of this maneuver were a Boy Scout group who were locked out when they assembled for their regular Wednesday meeting, and a class of DP's who meet at the Temple weekly to study English and the practice of American democracy.

TRUTH WILL OUT: The pressure to silence discussion of the Rosenberg Case included a series of phone calls from New York City. A rabbi and a minister, who had been advertised as speakers, were forced to withdraw. But the PP promptly hired another nearby hall, set up a private car shuttle from the Temple, and despite all obstacles presented the facts of the case to an overflow crowd of more than 200.

Michael Tuomey, Irish-Catholic attorney, chaired the meeting. Chicago Negro Labor Council vice-chairman Ruth Collins stressed the link between the oppression of her people and a case like the Rosenbergs'. The predominantly Jewish working-class audience was deeply stirred by Reuben's presentation of the case. Your Chicago correspondent urged them to cast aside their political differences and refuse to let their own interests be dictated by wealthy Jewish "leaders," pointing out that the important thing was not so much the opinions they might form on the case as their standing up for the right to be heard.

FURORE AT THE TEMPLE: A proposal was made from the floor, and unanimously approved, to send protests to the President and Atty. Gen. McGrath, asking reversal of the convictions and dismissal of the indictment against the Rosenbergs; and to protest to the Temple for buckling to outside pressures in canceling the meeting.

As the evening drew to a close a member of Temple Judea's executive committee came to the hall to congratulate the PP for holding the meeting, and to sympathize with their aim of preserving free speech in the community. He said the president of the Temple had resigned in protest against the cancellation, which had been ordered contrary to the expressed will of the majority of the Temple's officers and executive committee. He invited the local PP representatives to come to the Temple Sunday, to tell its Sunday Breakfast Club something about the case that had created more excitement in the ward than anything since the fight over recognition of Israel.

(Continued from Page 3)

mands, "opposition in the [French] Assembly against the European Army plan" was "rising" (**NYT** Feb. 6). French deputies (**NYHT**, Feb. 10) were

> . . . more and more frightened of German rearmament as the hour of decision approaches. This is especially true of the Socialists, whose votes will be needed if the government's hands are to remain free for action when the North Atlantic Council meets. A worsening of Franco-German relations last week did not help matters.

ADENAUER IN TROUBLE: "Highest State Dept. officials," reported **NYHT's** Ned Russell from Washington Feb. 2, believe unless there is a Franco-German rapprochement "the whole project of uniting Western Europe may tumble into ruins." But they were inclined to be more irritated with Paris than with Bonn. The N. Y. **Times** (Feb. 10) found "sympathy" in Washington for "Bonn's effort to find out where it stands."

Washington was also worried by mounting evidence that its man Adenauer no longer commands a majority in parliament or the country. During the rearmament debate Adenauer was attacked not only by the Socialist opposition. Said the **Times** (Feb. 8):

> All his warnings of Communist danger failed to divert critics in his own coalition or in the Socialist opposition from attacking his policies. . . . The general support given the Socialists in their duel with Dr. Adenauer over rearmament displayed [his] waning popularity in the Bundestag more than anything else.

The Socialists, whose leaders want a higher price than Adenauer's for rearmament but whose rank and file opposes any rearmament, have filed a plea asking the Constitutional Court to prevent the government from rearming without first changing the constitution. This requires a two-thirds majority in parliament which Adenauer probably cannot muster. When Adenauer attacked this strategy, "from all sides there were violent interruptions, and even members of his own Christian Democratic Union told the Chancellor to 'leave it to the Court'" (**NYT**, Feb. 8). The Socialists are also demanding national elections as a prerequisite to a national decision on rearmament, popular opposition to which is strong. Pastor Niemoeller, recently returned from a visit to Moscow, has intensified his fight against it, warning that if the Russians came Americans "could let off atom bombs in the Ruhr. And I tell you the Americans would do it."

Middle East, Korea

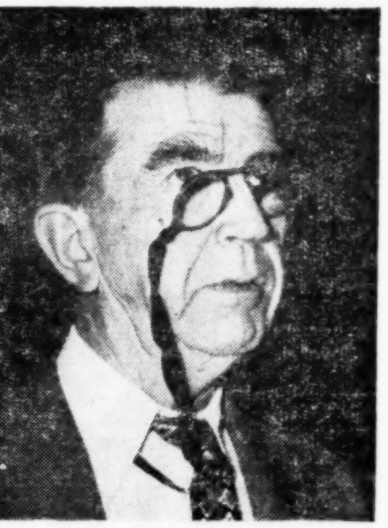
IN the Middle East and North Africa, site of Washington's most important air bases, source of key oil and mineral reserves, Washington, London and Paris sought a military pact to hold the area against its own people. Egypt's new government, brought in by a ruling class terrified by the revolutionary character of the recent outbreaks, was arresting wholesale persons accused of participation and preparing to reopen talks with London broken off last October. Tunisian leaders were demanding release of imprisoned nationalist leaders and an end to repressive action by the more than 20,000 French police and troops called out during the recent insurrection there. Iran's government was preparing to reopen negotiations with the World Bank for operation of the oil industry.

Momentary quiet had returned to the Middle East; but the problems remained unsolved. Wrote the Alsops (Feb. 10):

> The countries of the Middle East might go down one after the other like a row of nine pins, even within the next 12 months.

POINT THREE: Truce talks in Korea were still stalemated over POW exchange and North Korea's right to repair airfields during an armistice; but talks were begun on agenda item 5, "recommendations to governments concerned." The Communists proposed a political conference within three months of an armistice, with North Korea, China, and UN governments concerned appointing five representatives—the agenda to include withdrawal of foreign troops and other questions relating to peace in Korea. The Washington **Post** (Feb. 7) said editorially:

> There is enough merit in the Communist proposal for a political conference on a general Far Eastern settlement to warrant the most serious consideration in Washington. . . . It is the third point that is significant and the American preoccupation with a military settlement ought not to result in an automatic brush-off.



WHO'S THIS FELLOW?
Why, he's Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) the author of the Smith Act—just in case you wanted to know what he looked like.

FREEDOMS

Foley Sq. moves to California

THE second trial of U.S. Communist leaders under current Smith Act indictments was under way last week in Los Angeles. Government prosecutors were leaning heavily on the conviction of the party's top 11 in the first trial (1949) to send the California 15 to prison. The prosecution's opening statement, an exact copy of that delivered in New York by then U.S. Atty. (now federal judge) John F. X. McGohey, was challenged by the defense on the ground that, the California indictments differing from the N.Y. ones, the government had forfeited its case. Federal Judge William C. Mathes rejected the argument. The N.Y. 11 are described as "co-conspirators" with the California 15.

Biggest surprise for both sides was the selection of a jury in less than one court day. The defense used only 16 of its 25 peremptory challenges, the government three of its six. The jury of eight women, four men includes two Negroes, one an oil refinery worker, the other the wife of a dining-car waiter. The other three men are a retired mining prospector, an oil refinery pipefitter, a stationery store proprietor. All the women described themselves as housewives; two are wives of welders, one of a truckdriver, one of a railroad clerk.

DUSTY EVIDENCE: Estimates of the length of the trial ranged from four to six months (the N.Y. trial lasted nine). The government has hinted that 15 of the 60-odd witnesses it will call might be undercover agents working inside the party. It will introduce as evidence 627 items—documents, pamphlets, books, including standard socialist classics dating back 100 years. The government is represented by six lawyers, the defense by five, with William Schneiderman, state CP chairman, acting as his own counsel. In his opening statement, Schneiderman said:

> "Our contention is that there was no conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, that there was no such intent in our teaching and practice. We shall show that the prosecution's charges constitute an attempt to outlaw a minority political party that has sought to bring its platform to the people by democratic process."

The defense emphasized two earlier court rulings, one by the Supreme Court in 1943 overruling government attempts to deprive Schneiderman of citizenship, another that defeated an effort to rule the CP off the California ballot. Made while the Smith Act was on the books, both rulings underlined the party's legal status.

OVERT & COVERT: Against the 15 the government lists 23 "overt acts": they "did attend" certain meetings, "did cause" to be published certain written material. Conviction carries a maximum sentence of ten years in prison, $10,000 fine. The defense lost a move to postpone the trial until 60 days after completion of serialization in a L. A. paper of the book **I Led Three Lives** by Herbert Philbrick, chief government witness in the Foley Square trials. All L. A. papers are similarly exploiting the newest sensations of the House Un-American Activities Committee which has scheduled another L. A. session later this month. Also dismissed was a defense request for an order to stop FBI agents from harassing the defendants. (In Baltimore, six Smith Act victims awaiting trial charged that a total of 72 FBI agents are watching their every move).

First government witness was David Saunders, a sea captain, who testified he was a party member from 1935 to 1945, held among other posts that of San Francisco waterfront organizer. Asked how he considered himself as a party functionary, he answered: "As a professional revolutionist"—the description applied to the defendants in the indictments.

As the trial got under way, Rep. John F. Shelley (D-Calif.) publicly pledged to work in Congress for the repeal of the Smith Act.

PITTSBURGH, HONOLULU: In Pittsburgh Steve Nelson, convicted a week ago under a state sedition law (GUARDIAN, Feb. 6) and facing trial under the Smith Act, won two points: rejection of a government demand that his bail be increased from $10,000 to $25,000, and the right to go to New York for a rally in his own behalf on Feb. 16 at 13 Astor Place. On Monday, Feb. 11, he was in Washington to face trial on a contempt of Congress charge arising from an appearance before the Un-AAC.

Smith Act trial of seven defendants in Honolulu was set for Feb. 26. Islanders were startled recently when Robert McElrath, daily news commentator for the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, broadcast over a seven-station island network a tape-recording of the conversation of two FBI agents with a union official. The agents were interested in a deal: Smith Act charges might be dropped against Jack Hall, regional ILWU director, if he would agree to split the union.

Trial of 17 additional Smith Act victims in New York is set for March 3.

THE JEAN FIELD STORY—II

Her crime: she taught her kids that Negroes were human too

In last week's opening installment of this condensed version of his pamphlet The Crime Against Jean Field, *Albert Kahn told how an Oklahoma court in 1950 took Jay (13) and Mary Kaye Field (10) from their mother after she taught them race discrimination and the Korean War were wrong. Before the hearing at which custody was given to Vernon Field—the father who deserted the family when his daughter was three weeks old—Jean had taken the children back home to California; a warrant was issued for her arrest for "child-stealing."*

JEAN FIELD SAYS GOODBYE TO HER CHILDREN
"The people who have done this thing will one day pay."

By Albert E. Kahn

ON Oct. 31, in Santa Monica, Calif., Jay came running home soon after the children had left for school. Pale and trembling, at first able only to shake his head when Jean asked if he were ill, he gasped out: "Vernon's here!"

Jay had found his father waiting for him at school with an Oklahoma deputy. Vernon had ordered him to get into a parked car, told him if he didn't do as he was told his mother would be put in jail.

Hurrying to Mary Kaye's school, Jean was met there by a Los Angeles policewoman, who presented a warrant for her arrest for kidnaping. She was taken to jail, fingerprinted, photographed, searched for concealed weapons, held several hours in a cell until a bond agency posted $1,500 bail.

Two days later police arrested Jay and Mary Kaye at school on a warrant secured by their father. They were placed in L. A. Juvenile Hall. Jean was forbidden to see or talk to them.

CHILDREN IN "JAIL": Petitioned by Vernon to extradite Jean for trial, California's Gov Warren refused to do so in a letter to Oklahoma's Gov. Turner, pointing out that Vernon had "never manifested interest in the children and contributed very little to their support for the past ten years. . . ." During the month before the hearing to determine temporary custody of the children, Jean was allowed to visit them once a week for one hour. She later wrote:

> **I will not go into the details of the terribly destructive effect this being in "jail" (this is what the children called it) was having on the boy and girl. The little girl was in the infirmary several times; they both had difficulty keeping food on their stomachs. Their pathetic eagerness to see me when I was allowed to visit them was almost unbearable; their touching attempts to keep me from knowing when anything went wrong with them kept me alternating between deep pride in the courage they were showing when they were down, and deep anger that any human being, any court, and especially any parent with any real regard for the welfare of children, could deliberately put them in this sort of place and insist that they be kept there.**

Not once while the children were in Juvenile Hall did Vernon make any attempt to see them.

SIN OF AMERICANISM: The temporary custody hearing began Dec. 9 before Judge Harold W. Schweitzer in L. A. Superior Court. The proceedings were remarkable.

Evidence of Jean's unfitness as a mother consisted of her two letters about Korea; the fact that the Oklahoma court had held her in contempt for leaving the state without its permission; and affidavits from Vernon's parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. Walker Field, concerning their grandchildren's attitude toward Negroes. Mr. Field's statement said:

> **He [Jay] spoke very critically of the laws of Oklahoma regarding the segregation of white and colored persons in their attendance in theaters and other places of amusement, and in railroad trains, streetcars and in schools. In that connection, he said the Negro race was as good as the whites and entitled to the same privileges. . . . On one occasion while riding with me in my car, he . . . stated that some of his best friends at school were colored boys.**

Mrs. J. Walker Field's sworn statement said that once, when she was visiting Santa Monica, Jean Field had

> **. . . told Jay he could bring a boy friend home to watch a football game on television. Jay asked if he could bring a Negro boy. She replied, "Why, of course." . . . When a boy 12 years old just moving into a new community chooses colored boys for their daily associates and companions, it is not conducive of wholesome living and shows an inferiority complex and should be corrected at once, but their mother will not correct that, for that is the result of her teaching, and she has stressed the thought that color is the only reason the two races do not intermingle. This, according to her, is not right. . . .**

PARENTS' LOYALTY OATHS: Hour after hour, over her attorney's objections, Jean was aggressively interrogated by Vernon's lawyer, William Gilbert, concerning her beliefs and the views she had expressed to her children. She was asked:

- **"How about the Mundt-Ferguson and Nixon bills?"**
- **"Had you or your children discussed the word or phrase 'conservative press'?"**
- **"Did you teach your children anything about the different classes or class struggle in progress in this country or in the world?"**
- **"That peace petition . . . when you sent that petition to your children in Oklahoma, you asked them to sign it, didn't you?"**

Jean's letters about Korea, Gilbert told the judge, were in themselves grounds enough for depriving her of her children:

> **"I assert to your Honor that what this lady has taught these children is . . . traitorous. I assert that your Honor will not permit such a thing to continue in this country in the condition that the world is in today. . . . The time has come to consider loyalty oaths as a condition of parenthood."**

But Jean Field told the judge:

> **"I insist that people have the right, and I want my children to feel that they have the right to consider many things, your Honor. To me that is freedom. We say that democracy can only operate under an informed people; only an informed people can be a free people. And information is a consideration of many things and many strange ideas, possibly to us. But we have got to have the courage to examine them."**

"Even strange ideas?" asked Judge Schweitzer dubiously.

"THEY'LL CRY A LOT": Jean's lawyer, William Murrish, argued that the Oklahoma decree changing the children's custody was invalid, because when the proceedings were initiated Jean was outside the state's jurisdiction and the children were being held in Oklahoma by unlawful coercive means. Murrish contrasted Vernon's desertion and neglect of his children with the loving care Jean gave them.

On Dec. 14 Judge Schweitzer handed down his decision. Granting that "the children would be considerably upset" and would probably "cry a lot" if taken from their mother, he upheld the Oklahoma decree.

Mary Kaye burst into tears, buried her head in her mother's lap. Jay clasped his face in his hands, moaning: "Oh no, no, no. . . ." The judge denied Murrish's request for a 48- or 24-hour stay so that the decision might be appealed to the California's Supreme Court, and ordered that the children be immediately given to their father.

PAYMENT DEFERRED: Clutching the children, with tears streaming down her face, Jean said to the judge:

> **"I've cared for and supported these children for ten years all by myself. I've gone without food for their sake. Can I have them now alone for ten minutes?"**

Judge Schweitzer said: "I am sorry, Mrs. Field. You had your day in court in Oklahoma." The two sobbing children were separated from their mother and forcibly handed over to Vernon.

The police matron who had brought the children into the courtroom put her arms around Jean and tried to comfort her saying:

> **"The people who have done this thing will pay one day. Such a wrong cannot stand."**

As Jay and Mary Kaye were led away, Jean called after them: "Never forget your mother! Never forget what I've taught you of what is right!" Since that day in December, 1950, Jean Field has not seen her children. Five months later the temporary upholding of the Oklahoma custody decree was confirmed and made permanent.

(To be contiued)

PEACE

UMT near passage; protest still too weak

SINCE the birth of the U. S. as a nation, opposition to compulsory peacetime conscription—now known as Universal Military Training—has been one of the strongest characteristics of its people. Millions in the past have immigrated here to escape compulsory military training in Europe. Last week, time in which to defeat UMT in the U.S. was running out: the House Armed Services Committee, by a 27 to 7 vote, approved a bill to conscript all U. S. males at 18 for six months' training to be followed by 7½ years in the reserves, with annual refresher training, subject to call at any time. The measure will be called up for House debate the last week of this month.

Hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee began Friday with members of the President's Natl. Security Training Commission—whose plan for UMT is the basis of the pending legislation—as first witnesses. Opponents, who include representatives of all farm, most labor, religious, educational and youth organizations in the country, testified Monday and Tuesday.

KEEP YOUR DAUGHTER: Opposition had some small effect on the House Committee: a public warning from the Natl. Council Against Conscription (1013 18th St. N. W., Washington 6, D. C.) that UMT means "Today your son—tomorrow your daughter" brought a committee ban on conscription of women; a Defense Dept. proposal for a UMT beginning this fall with "volunteers" willing to follow their six months' training with 18 months active service was ruled out. Some committee members, UMT supporters, announced they would support on the floor an amendment to delay UMT until the present draft is halted. A House move was on to give Congress sole authority to begin the UMT program if it is passed; under present plans either the President or Congress could trigger the program into action. Left open in the House bill is the question of how and when UMT could be started.

House Committee chairman Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) himself summed up the main opposition to UMT when he issued a blanket denial that it is "un-American, anti-Christian, immoral and would lead us to financial chaos." His position: that Congress must choose between UMT or 20 more years of the draft. But opponents wanted neither; most argued that world disarmament and world peace should be U. S. goals.

"CITIZENS' OBLIGATIONS": Protests from the Natl. Council of Churches of Christ and the N. Y. Board of Rabbis (GUARDIAN, Feb. 6) were followed by a restatement of opposition from the American Civil Liberties Union (which noted that provisions for compulsory religious instruction under UMT are unconstitutional) and this statement by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (a Quaker group):

> **In arguing for the approval of UMT, the Commission declares, "It is tangible evidence that the ultimate obligation of citizenship—the bearing of arms in defense of the community—shall now be explicit." In other words, the ultimate obligation of citizenship, according to the Commission, is not to love one's neighbor as one's self, or to strive unremittingly through the UN for a peaceful world, or to seek universal disarmament so that swords may be beaten into plowshares, but to make paramount the civic duty of blind and automatic military obedience and to see that no one escapes the military indoctrination of the drill sergeant. Pointing a gun at the person or nation with whom one is in dispute is the way to resolve conflicts. If that creates new moral problems . . . just resolve these moral doubts in favor of training to use atom bombs and in favor of mass annihilation and all the paraphernalia of modern war.**

All organizations fighting UMT had one urgent message for Americans: write, call, telegraph, visit your Congressmen to defeat UMT.

Same paper, page and day

If the Commies in Korea think they can murder the morale of our GIs by dropping pictures on them they've got another thought coming. [The pictures] showed two panels: in one, so-called idle-rich Americans tanning their hides under Florida's sun; in the other panel, a picture of American GIs freezing and fighting in Korea. The picture's caption: "You risk your life, big business rakes in all the dough."

Our town sends hundreds to Florida each winter and they'd laugh if they were classed as the idle rich. . . .

Brockton (Mass.) **Enterprise**
Editorial page, Jan. 30, col. 1.

* * *

Wouldn't it be nice to be either rich or a ball player and be headed for some wonderful weeks in the sunny south?

Brockton (Mass.) **Enterprise**
Editorial page, Jan. 30, col. 7.

FROM THE NEGRO HISTORY WEEK ISSUE OF FREEDOM: ARTICLES BY W. E. B. DuBOIS and LOUIS E. BURNHAM

Reconstruction, once buried, lives on today

By Louis E. Burnham

"Negroes have made more progress in the past 80 years than any people in the history of the world."

HOW many times have you been confronted with this smug assertion? Yet the fact is that for nearly 80 years Negro Americans have been struggling to regain the political foothold they won during the Reconstruction period!

And there's still a long way to go.

Suppose you were to read in your paper tomorrow that a merchant ship had steamed into New Orleans laden with valuable cargo. You'd probably pass on to the next item, unless you have a special interest in shipping news. But if the article went on to say that the master of the ship sought out the United States Collector for the Port of New Orleans to declare his cargo and pay substantial duty; and if you knew that the U. S. Collector was a Negro—then that would be more than shipping news.

THESE THINGS HAPPENED: It would be news of political democracy at work in the United States.

And suppose the same paper announced that the postmaster at Columbia, S. C., had placed before the U. S. attorney for the area evidence leading to indictment of the Palmetto Knitwear Co. on the charge of using the mail to defraud its customers. If you knew that the postmaster was a Negro and the U. S. attorney was white and that they were both leading members of the dominant People's Party in South Carolina—that would be more than post office news.

JOSEPH H. RAINEY
South Carolina

It's hard to imagine these things happening in the South, U. S. A.—even though thousands of ambitious politicians are going to be bending our ears back with talk about civil rights and our "democratic way of life" from now until November. But they did happen 80 years ago. There were Negro port collectors, postmasters, sheriffs and deputies, internal revenue collectors, probate judges, court clerks, state legislators and Federal Congressmen.

They were Southern men and women and, together with the white colleagues with whom they shared political power in the Reconstruction governments, they gave this nation the only experience in real democracy it has ever had.

REMEMBER THEM: Their names and their deeds should be remembered as we celebrate Negro History Week.

Two of them, Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, were U. S. senators from Mississippi, the state of Bilbo, Fielding Wright—and Willie McGee.

In Louisiana, where prisoners at the Angola prison farm recently cut their tendons in protest against the intolerable conditions, a Negro, P. B. S. Pinchback, served as lieutenant governor with great dignity and skill.

When South Carolina's governor James Byrnes shouts that Negro and white scholars will never attend the same schools in "his" state, he wants the people to forget that they once did; that Negro office holders like Cardozo, Smalls, Rainey and Elliot helped set up the first free public school system in the state, that the state university once had a mixed faculty and student body which was an inspiration for the rest of the South and the nation.

THE WRECKERS: But there has always been a small and powerful group in the nation which abhorred such beliefs and tried to kill such visions. That group was, and is today, the Money Power—Big Business.

After the Civil War it wanted the South—not as a land of security, equality and opportunity for the newly-freed slaves and the millions of poor whites. It wanted the South as a dumping ground for the capital being accumulated by Northern industries and banks: it wanted to control the cotton, own the land and exploit the new industries for super profits.

Reconstruction stood in the way. And Reconstruction had to be smashed.

FORMULA — HATRED: All sorts of weapons were used to do the job. The main one is familiar: "white supremacy." Pit whites against blacks, incite strife wherever peace is found, make bitter enemies of natural allies—these were the watchwords of the new and unholy alliance between Wall St. money and the Southern bourbons.

The alliance was sealed by the Ku Klux Klan in the blood of thousands of Negroes slaughtered for voting, in the enactment of the Black Codes which imposed segregation, introduced the poll tax, grandfather clause and white primary.

As late as 1878 in South Carolina where the Reconstruction reached its greatest heights, there were 62 Negroes and 78 whites in both houses of the state legislature. But by 1884 only half the number of Negroes voted in the state as six years before. And by 1900 the Negro vote had practically disappeared in the whole South. George H. White of N. Carolina, the last Negro in Congress for a long time, in his prophetic final speech in 1901 voiced the feelings of his people whose votes had been taken away by violence, cheating, unconstitutional legislation:

> "This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the Negro's temporary farewell to the American Congress; but let me say, P[illegible]nix-

"Contrary to policy"

SEATTLE

A committee headed by the Progressive Party's James McDaniel requested use of the Garfield School auditorium here for a public Negro History Week observance.

The school board turned down the request on the ground it was contrary to policy to single out any race or nationality for special treatment. The Urban League, described as "quite properly representing the city's Negro population," backed the board's refusal.

GENERAL TUBMAN

From the age of 5 until she was nearly 30, Harriet Tubman was a slave—mercilessly beaten, ruthlessly burdened, endlessly resisting. At 15 she was nearly killed for defending a fellow slave from an overseer. In 1849, when she was 29, she and two brothers fled north. From then on, until her death in 1913 at 93, Harriet Tubman was a guiding star in the fight for Negro liberation in America. John Brown called her General Tubman; her people called her Moses; thousands of slaves brought north via the Underground Railway owed their safe conduct to her generalship. Southern slaveholders once offered $40,000 reward for her capture. To carry on, she worked as a domestic, raised vegetables and chickens in Auburn, N. Y., used the funds to maintain her aged parents and to maintain two schools for freedom in the South after the Civil War. When she was 80, the government gave her a pension of $20 a month. She used it to help found a Home for the Aged and Indigent; in her last years expanded it into a free farm in Auburn which became known as the Harriet Tubman Home. She died penniless, but her greatness is as immortal as Spartacus.

FREE — with sub to FREEDOM

A handsome 12x15" reproduction of the above original woodcut of Harriet Tubman, on fine-grade stock suitable for framing.

The staff of the GUARDIAN feels that the single most effective contribution we can make during Negro History Month is to win every GUARDIAN reader to regular monthly readership of **Freedom**, the paper devoted to the struggle of the Negro people, published by Paul Robeson and edited by Louis Burnham. A year's subscription is only $1; in return you get a flow of vital facts and viewpoints available in no other publication in America. The above free offer is made in cooperation with the editors of **Freedom** as a special inducement to bring YOU into the **Freedom** family.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Dept. F, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Enclosed find $1. Send a year's subscription to FREEDOM and a reproduction of the Harriet Tubman woodcut to

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Address ....

Credits

The woodcut of Harriet Tubman on p. 6 and the two woodcuts on p. 7 are by WINIFRED MILIUS. The drawing of Rainey is by ED STRICKLAND and first appeared in the January issue of "Freedom". The quotations under the two smaller woodcuts are from BEULAH RICHARDSON's poem, "A Black Woman Speaks to White Womanhood of White Supremacy and Peace."

like he will rise up some day and come again."

This is "progress"

Since 1900 the Negro's path has been a long and hard climb up from political oblivion. Twenty-seven years after White's farewell to the U.S. Congress, Oscar DePriest took his seat as representative of the first district of Illinois.

Today, 24 years after DePriest's election, there are TWO Negroes in the U.S. Congress, Adam Powell of New York and William Dawson of Chicago. At this rate, American "democracy" can look forward to having 10 Negroes in the House of Representatives 240 years from now!

If Negroes were represented in rough proportion to their numbers in the population, there would be some 50 black representatives and 10 black senators from the South in the U.S. Congress.

In New York, seven of the 56 state senators would be Negroes. Today there is none; nor has there ever been one in history. The bustling city of Detroit has never sent a Negro to its common council; no black man or woman has ever represented the metropolis of Cleveland in the Ohio state legislature.

NO MORE CRUMBS: The picture is alarmingly the same in every state in the North—Negroes have only token representation in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, or none at all. And in the South we witness a situation little different from that against which the American colonists revolted nearly two centuries ago: taxation without representation.

But the American people did not use up all the democratic energies in the Revolutionary War. Today the struggle for Negro representation is at a new high. The Negro, grown tired of political crumbs, intends to plant his feet squarely under the table of government and have his first good meal since Reconstruction.

That's the meaning of the mounting struggle for the right to vote that has proceeded in the South since the Supreme Court responded to public pressure and outlawed the white primary in 1944. In the eight years which have followed, a Negro electorate of some 250,000 has grown to more than a million. And in four cities, Winston-Salem and Fayetteville, N.C., Richmond, Va., and Nashville, Tenn., Negroes have been elected to municipal governing bodies. The NAACP has announced a drive to bring Negro voting strength in the South to two million in 1952, and the goal can be reached.

HOUSES TO CLEAN: As this vote rises it is clear it will not be cast for the Eastlands, Ellenders, Wrights, Rankins, Connollys and Byrneses who now befoul the legislative and executive seats of the states and nation. It will be cast for Negroes, themselves, and for whites who put democracy above the interests of the corporate rulers of the South.

The 8,000 votes cast last month for Kermit Parker, a Negro candidate for the governorship of Louisiana, are a sign of the political times in the South.

In the North the demand for representation is no less intense. Here the fight is for an end to gerrymandered districts which nullify the Negro vote; for designation of Negro candidates for all major offices; for appointment of Negroes to posts at all levels; including the President's cabinet; for non-partisan unity in the '52 elections.

THE NEW DAY: Will the powers-that-be accept this resurgence of the Negro's political consciousness any more complacently than they did 75 years ago? They have already unleashed the Klan to stop the voting movement in the South. The martyred Harry Moore is a witness of their intentions. They have flooded the country, and the world, with the false propaganda of Anglo-Saxon superiority. They have bought off some few of our leaders with paltry crumbs from their vast empire.

But today they will not succeed.

Reconstruction, long murdered and buried, is not forgotten. It lives in the political struggles of our lives from day to day.

DR. DuBOIS LOOKS INTO THE NEXT HALF CENTURY

The choice that confronts America's Negroes

By W. E. B. DuBois

IN the first half of the 20th century the world was so upset by war and depression, that even the United States could not keep its attention centered on Negroes; and the demand for Negro labor was so great, that there were distinct advances in legal and economic status.

But the Negro was not and is not free; and the problems he faces in the second half of the 20th century are quite different from those he faced in the 19th. He is going to become a voter—but that does not settle how he is going to vote. It really poses for him new and absorbing political problems. He is going to secure, certainly for a considerable number of the group, a more substantial economic position, with larger income; but this again raises the question as to what he is going to do with his income, by what methods he is going to earn and increase it, and what the relation of his wealth is to the wealth of the rest of the world.

LUCRETIA MOTT

". . . It's unfortunate that you acted . . . and to preserve the union and for dear sweet pity's sake. Else how came it to be with me as it is today?"

Finally, he is going to be able to meet his fellow-Americans on a plane of friendship and cooperation; but what is that cooperation going to be for, and with what kind of Americans is he going to cultivate friendship?

CURTAINED KNOWLEDGE: American Negroes facing these problems are today seriously handicapped. First, their children are not learning to read, write and cipher well, not only in their segregated schools, but even in the public schools where there is no segregation.

In the schools and colleges economics is hardly taught at all, because the industrial organizations of the U.S. control education, and do not want people to learn of the transformation today of individualism into socialism. It is going on all about us, even in the U.S., and yet we do not understand it.

That means that in the last half of the 20th century, American Negroes as well as the majority of American whites are going to follow the economics of the middle ages, when people "made money," "saved" it, and "invested" for profit, instead of realizing that what men do is to work for what they need in order to satisfy their wants; distribute these satisfactions justly in order to consume all that is produced except that part which is needed for future production; and that future production is also solely for satisfying human needs.

NEW WORLD ALLIANCE: In the Negro group we are going to develop, and indeed have developed, economic classes whose interests clash—the rich, the well-to-do, the poor. Unless we stop present trends, the rich are going to exploit and cheat the poor, and bitter

SOJOURNER TRUTH

". . . and as I gave suckle I knew I nursed my own child's enemy. . . ."

enmities are going to rise between these inner groups, so great as to disrupt all unity or what we used to call "race loyalty."

On the other hand, if we keep this class distinction down to a minimum, and if we understand the new socialistic conception of work and income, we will find new alliances among the white people of America and among the peoples of the world. And these alliances can be used, if we are wise, to improve the condition of men and to transform the world from a world of war, force and oppression into one of mutual striving toward the progress of all peoples and all classes; so as to loose for future civilization the vast energy and potentialities of the mass of human beings now held in thrall by poverty, ignorance and disease.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S STAND ON NEGRO REPRESENTATION

The Negroes' victory will be America's victory

The following is the "Resolution on Negro Representation" adopted by the National Committee of the Progressive Party at its meeting last month in New York:

THE ELECTION of Negroes to Congressional, state and local offices is essential to the freedom, welfare and peace of our country. As Negroes take their rightful places in Congress, the Cabinet and in judicial posts, old-fashioned American democracy will gain its single most triumphant advance since Ku Klux fascism forcibly overthrew the freely-elected white and Negro governments of the brief but vigorous popular Reconstruction of the South, following the Civil War.

Then as now, the hated Confederate flag symbolized slavery for the Negro and grinding poverty for the white farmer and worker. Then as now, rich whites grasped for the tax power and the police power to control our natural resources, fix prices, and to sweat excessive profits from all the people,, white or black. Then as now, they planted hatred and mistrust among the people, using fear of loss of jobs and land, fear of jail, fear of lynch mobs, to break the majority of working whites and Negroes down into divided, warring groups.

The Negro people, even in the deepest agony, have never accepted unequal status. They have always known that to live at all they must be free. Today they are arising. They know, as all oppressed peoples have always known, that the central step in their emancipation, the step without which they cannot win economic equality and end discrimination and segregation in education, housing, in the armed services and in medical treatment, is winning their share of governmental power.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE know, as all oppressed people have always known, that any war fought by any government which denies the right of its own people will not and cannot bring freedom anywhere.

The Negro people have much reason to know that the war in Korea and the present bankrupting preparations for global warfare are but a continuation abroad of white supremacy at home. They know that the powerful white owners of land and industry, who back their rule by lynch terror in Birmingham, Peekskill, Groveland, or Cicero, who sweat extra profits from the lowest paid workers in agriculture, factories, and households, who run school boards and governments, are taxing America into poverty and destroying her sons, Negro and white, for the primary purpose of maintaining colored people of other lands in colonial slavery.

The Negro people today are the surest leaders of the hardest hitting movement for the full freedom, welfare, and peace of our nation. Their fight for their share of governmental power simultaneously creates conditions for the forward movement of all our people. Their victory is America's victory.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY hails the recent election of Negroes to public office in many parts of the country and views the substantial votes won by unsuccessful Negro candidates as a hardy promise of success to come. We renew our party's pledge that we will cooperate with the Negro people in the election of Negro men and women and in winning their appointment to all administrative and judicial posts, including the highest.

We make clear our belief that no party can successfully pick candidates on behalf of the Negro people. We call for a united effort where Negroes of all parties and of none, professionals, clergymen, working men and women, all participate in choosing representatives for office and in deciding platform issues.

We declare ourselves in support of such candidates.

We wish to make it clear, further, that although such fully democratic means of selecting candidates are clearly the most desirable for any people seeking faithful representation, we have dedicated our party in National Convention and National Committee actions to breaking the lily-white pattern which dominates American political and economic life.

We call upon our white membership and supporters, in particular, to carry into white neighborhoods and shops the fight for election and appointment of Negroes to public posts. And we take this opportunity to recommend to all the Progressive Party state and local organizations the establishment of Non-Partisan Committees in every community to further these objectives.

Our Negro brothers and sisters guide our party councils equally in voice and responsibility. We seek no less in the government of our country.

J. Parnell Thomas, the Kickback Kid, talks to a political prisoner

Carl A. Marzani served 30 months in prison as one of the first political victims of the Truman Era witch-hunt. On the basis of his experience he wrote an article (GUARDIAN, Jan. 2) on political prisoners in the U. S. A. Following is another article dealing with a criminal prisoner, J. Parnell Thomas, convicted embezzler, who helped send Marzani—and others—to prison.

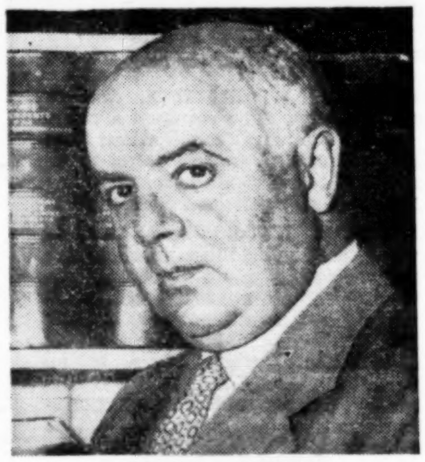
By Carl A. Marzani

ACROSS the prison yard he came, a small figure with no confidence in his walk: ex-Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, erstwhile Grand Inquisitor, in jail for taking kickbacks on the salaries of government workers. A friendly press had for years pictured him as an imposing, massive-looking man and it didn't seem possible he should have shrunken so rapidly—until I remembered that photographers were said to have placed a couple of telephone books under his derriere. All the time in jail, I couldn't look at Thomas without visualizing those telephone books.

This was our first meeting: on one side three years for alleged communism, on the other a year and a half for kickbacks. We nodded briefly in mutual recognition and the ice was broken. The encounter was not as cool as it seemed. There were overtones. Assigned to a cell in the building I had been occupying for nearly a year, Thomas had feared I would beat him up. This of course was the furthest thing in my mind, but people like Thomas attribute to others their own ideas and attitudes. So an emissary came from Thomas to find out what I would do. I told him: nothing, just nothing at all.

"NOTHING MUCH WRONG": As the days went by Thomas slowly veered from nods to smiles to greetings. Finally one day he stopped by my open cell door, willing to talk, but poised for flight. In jail, every criminal wants to talk about his case. It's like an operation in civil life. I hoped Thomas was no exception and had my gambit ready.

> "You know," I said, "I could never figure out your case. Somebody must have had it in for you."
>
> "That's right," he said eagerly.



J. PARNELL THOMAS
For FDR, a double-X

> "After all, you weren't doing much wrong, nothing some other Congressmen don't do."
>
> "That's right," he repeated promptly.

He was totally unconscious of any irony in my statement—only pleased that I should see his case the way it seemed to him: just a tiny blemish, an understandable error.

"PEOPLE LIKE YOU": "You were just a scapegoat," was my conclusion—and he replied handsomely, in kind:

> "Well, the same thing happened to you. You were just a scapegoat."
>
> "I don't quite get it," I said innocently, "what do you mean?"
>
> "Well, it's pretty clear. The Administration was looking for a scapegoat. They were accused of being soft to communism. You know, people were putting on the pressure. . . ."
>
> "People like you," I interposed without visible rancor.
>
> ". . . that's right."

He accepted the qualification in his stride. His attitude was an impersonal one of two experts discussing a machine. Politics is a business; certain things have to be done His attitude said he bore me no personal ill-will, so naturally I would have no animosity towards him. As one reasonable man to another he could chat freely.

JUSTICE DEPT. FIX: And he did. Two things he said I didn't forget. He told me he used to meet regularly with J. Edgar Hoover, who would supply him with information for the Un-American Activities Committee. In other words, the FBI lie when they say that their files are confidential, that they do not use vague material, smears and so on. The FBI was doing this under FDR's administration when Roosevelt was in sharp opposition to the Un-A. A. C. Hoover, if Thomas' story is true, was consistently double-crossing FDR.

The second thing Thomas told me was that he would get paroled as soon as he was eligible and without paying his fine. He told me this **months before he was due for parole, and everything turned out exactly as he had predicted.**

The significance of this? A prisoner becomes eligible for parole when one-third of his sentence is done; some 30% get it, but it is unheard of in the prison system for a man to have parole without paying his fine. For Thomas to know **beforehand** (a) that parole would be granted, and (b) that he wouldn't pay the fine, meant not only advance connivance with the Parole Board but with the higher Justice Dept. echelons.

NO PAROLE FOR THEM: Three victims of Thomas were in jail with us at the time; Dr. Jacob Auslander of the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee; Lester Cole and Ring Lardner Jr. of the Hollywood Ten. Not one received parole; in my case, not only was it denied but a petition for pardon to the President was contemptuously disregarded. The petition was signed by Dr. Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Dr. Edward Mason, Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, Drs. Harlow Shapley and Ernest Hocking of Harvard, and about a thousand others prominent in their communities.

There is an inescapable symbolism in the juxtaposition of such men as Thomas and Auslander in the same jail on such different charges. Thomas, the red-baiter, the inquisitor, the subverter of the Bill of Rights; and Auslander, the consistent anti-fascist fighter who refused to play stoolpigeon and hand over to Thomas the names of decent men and women who supported the fight against Franco. On one side a petty politician, without culture, without principles, without loyalty to his oath of office; on the other a skilled physician, of wide and deep culture and a profound sense of obligation to his fellow human beings.

WHO'S AMERICAN? In these two men our civilization is symbolized. Today, in Toynbee's phrase, our civilization is truly on trial. Thomas represents the putrescent aspects of our society: the mink coats, the tax scandals, the racketeering tie-up with the political machines, the obscurantism of ignorant witch-hunters, the morality of the atom bomb and the jellied gasoline crisping the flesh of "gooks." Dr. Auslander . . . one can hardly describe him without seeming sentimental. A gentle man and strong, with humor, charm, erudition and a towering moral sense. This man of Viennese birth is clearly a worthy citizen of our land; the ex-Congressman from New Jersey so clearly unworthy.

We live in transition times, awesome in apocalyptic consequences; reaction seems so powerful, some liberals are in despair. The despair is not warranted. The Thomases wilt under stress; the Auslanders flourish. After thirty months in jail, I know whereof I speak.

THE PRESS

Chambers tells all; 'tragedy' nets $75,000

NEW DEALER Alger Hiss, serving five years in Lewisburg, Pa., federal penitentiary for perjury, filed notice of a new appeal based on fresh evidence that typewritten documents used to convict him were faked. As a preliminary hearing on the appeal was set for later this month, the **Saturday Evening Post** began publication of "one

of the great books of our time": the life story of Whittaker Chambers, ex-**Time** editor whose word convicted Hiss.

A certain standing among literary curiosa seemed likely for the book, in which Chambers writes of himself partly in the first, partly in the third person. Addressing "my dear children," he describes how he began his break with the Communist Party while watching his child smear her face with porridge and concentrating on "the delicate convolutions of her ear, [which] could have been created only by immense design." Switching to the more respectful third person, Chambers thus sets his place in world history:

> At issue in the Hiss case was the question whether this sick society, which we call Western Civilization, could in its extremity still cast up a man whose faith in it was so great that he would voluntarily abandon those things which men hold good, including life, to defend it. . . .
>
> Some find it tragic that Whittaker Chambers, of his own will, gave up a $30,000-a-year job and a secure future to haunt for the rest of his days the ruins of his own life.

Tragedian Chambers bulkily haunts a pleasant farm in Westminster, Md. His fee for serial rights to baring of his soul: $75,000.

Moscow has 'Collier's' dream in reverse

COLLIER's daydream of a third world war ending in the U. S.-UN occupation of Russia sparked other daydreams around the world. Russia's own daydream, described in the Moscow weekly **New Times** (Jan. 1), took off from a wistful speculation by delegate A. Y. Vishinsky at the UN Assembly's Political Committee last November:

> "Just imagine how the world would take it, if one fine day we were to emerge from the hall and exclaim: 'The atom bomb is banned.' "

New Times' peaceful alternative to **Collier's** drew on imaginations in England, France, Italy, the U. S. as well as the U. S. S. R. These summed up the world in 1955 with the threat of war removed, the arms race ended, world trade renewed bringing more jobs, schools, roads, housing everywhere. Atomic energy is harnessed. ("Atomic engines will be installed in three new Soviet liners which will be put on the Leningrad-New York service in the spring of 1956.")

"PEACE TABLE" BOOM: The walnut table on which the five-power peace pact has been signed becomes a symbol. A large U. S. furniture maker cleans up by selling 100,000 such tables in a month, advertising them as "peace tables . . . that could bring harmony into the most quarrelsome families."

Voting at UN is now (1955) done by an electric apparatus that guarantees a completely secret ballot. But a State Dept. veteran sighs over his whisky for the time when the "voting machine" operated without the aid of electricity:

> "Manipulating these levers is a hell of a bother. It was much simpler to manipulate the delegates. . . ."

CREAM IN BOSTON: Howard Fast, reporting the cold war's end in the U. S., notes that "four industrialists leaped from windows of varying heights

but the rate of suicide dropped nationally." But the Boston Associates, top-flight New England financiers,

> . . . took full-page advertisements in the 20 largest newspapers, announcing $2,000,000,000 of contracts with China, India, the Soviet Union and the European People's Democracies.

Though Dixiecrats and Republicans launch a movement to impeach the President for signing the Peace Pact, U. S. popular feeling runs high, is climaxed in great demonstrations when GI's come home from war bases abandoned around the world. Fast writes:

> Two big New York dailies, formerly reactionary, joined with the Daily Compass, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and the Daily Worker to call for a People's Convocation for Peace in Central Park on the Sheep Mall. Local trade unions joined in.

William Stoneman, Chicago **News** correspondent, wrote from Paris that reprints of the **New Times** story in Western Europe "are making a big impression." Finding it all "incredible," Stoneman wrote:

> But the fact remains that papers in Norway, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Holland, (sic) Denmark and Italy are all printing excerpts from the New Times and that they contrast violently with the bloodthirsty items reprinted from Collier's a mere 10 weeks before."

Give This Paper To A Friend
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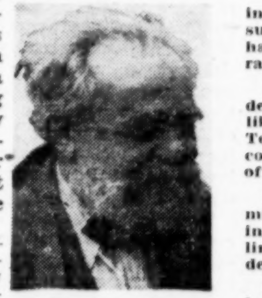
In this time of distrust

FROM prominent Americans in all professions, arts and sciences came tributes to Jo Davidson, first honorary chairman of the Natl. Arts, Sciences & Professions Council, when NCASP held a memorial meeting Jan. 30 in New York for the famous sculptor who died last month. These were some:



JO DAVIDSON

ALBERT EINSTEIN: "His passing will be keenly felt as an impoverishment of public life in this time of distrust of all non-conformists. . . . Neither fear of social ostracism nor fear of becoming politically suspect did deter him to stand for reason and moderation in public affairs."

BARTLEY CRUM (attorney): "Always in his mouth were the words of Tom Paine and Jefferson and Whitman. Theirs is the voice of America."

VAN WYCK BROOKS: "In a generation in which the 'global' mind appeared, he supremely possessed the global vision; he had Walt Whitman's feeling for all the races and the world as a whole."

HOWARD FAST: "With his courage, his determination, and his rare wisdom, he was like a patriarchal figure out of the Old Testament. . . . His role in the people's coalition and in the anti-fascist struggle of the 1940's will be long honored."

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN (former minister to Norway): "We were associated in our mutual devotion to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his policies. . . . His death has left a void in our lives."

HELEN KELLER: "Proudly I remember how Jo talked to me about his plans for founding the NCASP as a dynamic force in carrying to fulfillment the ideals of Franklin D. Roosevelt and enriching the intellectual life of America."

WILLIAM ZORACH (sculptor): "Jo loved people, high and low."

Anger mounts as anti-Negro crimes spread to Texas, Illinois, Georgia

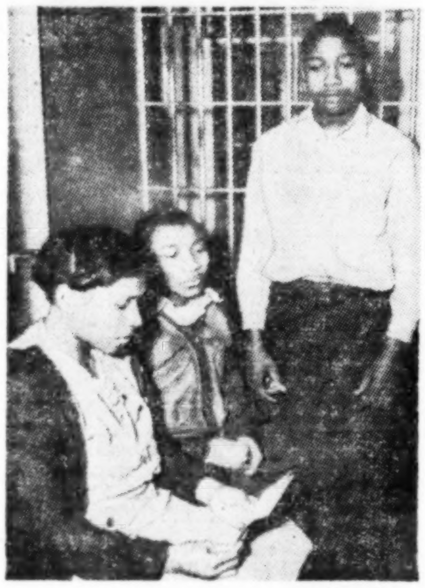
WHEN a Christmas night bombing killed Harry T. Moore, Florida leader of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and his wife, responsible leaders warned that without prompt and effective government action the violence would spread. Action has been neither prompt nor effective; there have been no arrests. A tidal wave of protest mail to the White House brought no public word from the President on the Florida crimes. And violence was spreading.

Anti-Negro bombings have occurred in Dallas, Tex. and Cairo, Ill. A KKK official accused of a bombing in Atlanta, Ga., has won a mistrial. In Philadelphia a self-styled "Hitler Youth Group" has attempted to fire-bomb a synagogue. The most prominent Negro attorney in Arkansas has received a KKK death threat. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons under life imprisonment in Georgia have been denied a parole. Paul Washington faces electrocution in Louisiana within 60 days.

CRY OF THE PEOPLE: Protests swelled against the Florida murders. In Congress Rep. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) introduced a resolution calling on the President to order a complete investigation. The Massachusetts State House of Representatives unanimously adopted a similar resolution. New Jersey's Senate, following the lead of its Assembly, called for federal action; likewise the Philadelphia City Council.

The YWCA circularized all its branches on the Florida cases. Thirteen national youth groups set up a Harry T. Moore Fund for improvement of interracial relations to be administered by the Young Adult Council of the Natl. Social Welfare Assembly. In Miami, Fla., 60 leading white and Negro organizations met to propose a Dade County Council on Community Relations, expressed "a public reaction of shame," said the community had "perhaps never before been so determined to do something positive" to promote interracial harmony.

In New York 17 organizations combined in a protest meeting at the Community Church; speakers included a Catholic lay leader, an asst. NAACP special counsel and a leader of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union. In Los Angeles 20 organizations were backing the NAACP for a Shrine Auditorium protest meeting Feb. 21. A N.Y. union sent the President a telegram 200 feet long signed by 8,217 members.



ROSA LEE INGRAM & SONS

Fifty thousand people protested the outrage; but it will take many thousands more to make Georgia justice listen to reason.

KLANSMAN "INVESTIGATOR": The NAACP was busy preparing for its Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Feb. 17-18 in Washington, with delegates expected from at least 30 states representing 50 national organizations. Delegates will spend part of their time buttonholing their Congressmen.

One reason for government failure to name or apprehend the Moore murderers was given in New York by Stetson Kennedy, famed for his undercover expose of the KKK. He told a press conference organized by the Manhattan Jewish Conference that Jefferson J. Elliott, Florida Gov. Fuller Warren's special investigator assigned to the Moore case, admitted to him that he, Elliott, is a KKK member. Elliott was chief witness before the coroner's jury that cleared Sheriff Willis V. McCall in the fatal shooting of Samuel Shepherd and wounding of Walter Lee Irvin, Groveland rape-charge victims, while they were handcuffed together in his custody. (Retrial of Irvin began Monday at Ocala, Fla.)

Many saw a link between government inaction in Florida and the anti-Semitic outbreak in Philadelphia, traced to a group of some 100 Olney High School students who wear swastika armbands, use the Nazi salute and boast that they study **Mein Kampf**. Last Wednesday, following vigorous protest, Mayor Joseph Clark appointed a nine-member Human Relations Commission to investigate the violence.

BOMBS IN ILLINOIS: Cairo, near Illinois' southern border, is the state's last town maintaining segregation in public schools. As the beginning of a new term approached, with the NAACP fighting to break through the discrimination, shotgun blasts blew out windows of the home of Dr. J. C. Wallace; next night a bomb wrecked an unoccupied bedroom in the home of Dr. U. F. Bass; no one was injured. Both are NAACP leaders. A three-stick dynamite bomb with a partly-burned fuse was found under the tire shop of Henry Dyson, local NAACP head.

Four suspects were arrested; the county superintendent of schools assured the NAACP that state aid to Cairo schools (more than $200,000 a year) would be cut off until Negro students are admitted freely to former lily-white schools. But following the precedent set after the recent Cicero riots, the law concentrated on those victimized by, and fighting, the illegality and violence. On Thursday nine NAACP leaders including the president of its Cairo branch, Dr. W. A. Fingal, were arrested and held in $1,000 bail each on charges of conspiring to force Negro children to attend white schools.

THE BETTER DEATH: Negro attorney Harold Flowers of Pine Bluff, Ark., has fought jimcrow—school segregation especially—for 14 years. He has several cases pending, two coming up on Feb. 18. A recent death threat signed "KKK" gave him until Feb. 1 to get out of town. When he made the threat public, more than 1,200 attended a Pine Bluff rally for him. He told them:

> "Klan or no Klan, I will be in court on Feb. 18."

He kept several speaking engagements in the West, told audiences there:

> "If I die, I will die effectively. But segregation must go."

He was back in Pine Bluff before the Feb. 1 deadline, still alive last week. Commented the Arkansas **State Press**, Negro weekly:

> It is far more profitable, honorable and convenient to die on American soil for a democracy, than on Korean soil for something that is not entirely comprehensible to the black man.

INGRAMS—NO MERCY: In Atlanta the Georgia Pardon and Parole Board pondered some 50,000 pieces of protest mail from virtually every state and from abroad; listened to the impromptu pleas of a score of persons, many white; then decided that Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons, Wallace and Sammie Lee, must serve at least seven years before their parole application will be considered. Serving life sentences for the self-defense slaying of an elderly white farmer who made an armed attack on Mrs. Ingram, the three have been in prison four years. The Civil Rights Congress urges protests to Gov. Herman Talmadge, State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.

Other protests were urged to Gov. Earl Long, Baton Rouge, La., for the life of 25-year-old Paul Washington, convicted on an unproved charge of rape in 1948. Refusal of the U.S. Supreme Court to review the case closed the last door to legal action; only the governor's clemency can now save him. Since 1907 no white man has been executed for rape in Louisiana.

In Chicago the trial of seven men charged with complicity in the Cicero riots was under way. They are the chief of police, the town president, the fire marshall, the town attorney and three police officers.

How crazy can you get dept.

The wave of bombings and other attempts to intimidate racial and religious groups in the South are symptomatic of rapid progress in bettering race relations, in the opinion of the Southern director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Alexander Miller of Atlanta.

—N. Y. World Telegram, Feb. 5.

A year's free sub to senders of items published under this heading. Winner: K. S., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Afro-American, Baltimore

The Statue of Liberty—Florida style

NEW YORK

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BEN CAREATHERS
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Civil Rights Congress salutes **BROTHERHOOD MONTH**, presenting a dramatization of **WE CHARGE GENOCIDE**. Also the Fraternal Songsters in a cantata, "My Glorious Brothers." Fri., Feb. 22, 8:30 p.m. Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand. Adm. $1 (tax included).

New 15 week seminar with **MARTIN HALL** on "The U.S. and International Relations." Every Thursday, 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. Feb. 21: **"THE WORLD IN CRISIS."** $7.50 series; 60c single.

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Keep This Date: Mon., April 28. **GUARDIAN THEATRE NIGHT.** "Flight Into Egypt," a new play by George Tabori, directed by Elia Kazan, with Paul Lukas, Zero Mostel, Paul Mann. Orchestra and balcony seats available: $10, $8, $7, $6. Call WO 4-1750 or write Theatre Party, 17 Murray St., New York 7.

EXHIBITION OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE: "Negro Life and History," presented for Negro History Month by Art Division, ASP. At Metropolitan Music School, 17 W. 74th St., Manhattan. Feb. 17-29. Opening Sun., Feb. 17, 2 p.m. Daily 11-3 p.m. Sat. 3-6 p.m. Fri. & Sun. 1-6 p.m. Admission Free.

Chicago

Hear the candidate for President or U.S.A. in 1952 on **PEACE PLATFORM** at American Rally for Brigadier General Herbert Holdridge (retired). Sun., Feb. 17, 3 p.m. Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn. Everybody welcome.

FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m. at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Features for Feb. 22: **THE NEW GULLIVER** (U.S.S.R.), plus Chaplin revival.

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ONLY A SUGGESTION

I thought as I sat by the shore of the sea
What a wonderful, beautiful thing it would be
If the Briton, the Teuton, the Gaul and the Slav
Should take all the guns and the tanks that they have
And sink them out there in the infinite main,
And then begin building them over again.
For no one, you know, is desirous to fight,
They are only protecting the Truth and the Right,
And nothing but armaments endlessly made
Can stop Unemployment and benefit Trade,
And the Heart of a Nation as never before
Is united when making Munitions of War.
How happy the state of the world when it finds,
What is simple to all mathematical minds,
That you cannot go on making gun after gun,
Because there is nowhere to put them when done,
And the largest of factories, even the Banks,
Would refuse in the end to find storage for tanks.
But a little more trust between nations, I think,
Would allow them to meet every August and sink
In a suitable place they could easily settle
Enormous supplies of explosives and metal,
And a cup would be given—the winner to count
As the one that got rid of the largest amount,
And could soonest return to the Blessings of Peace
Which are instantly doomed should Rearmament cease.

I thought as I sat by the shore of the sea
What a wonderful, beautiful thing this would be
For Commerce and Culture, and Friendship and Cash;
And the children, no doubt, would be pleased by the splash.

EVOE

(From Punch, August 9, 1939)

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LABOR

Negro group drives for 100,000 jobs

THE Greater N.Y. Negro Labor Council last week was looking for 10,000 new jobs for Negro men and women in fields hitherto barred to them. (Nationwide goal of the council is 100,000 new jobs.)

Ewart Guinier, vice-pres. of the Natl. Negro Labor Council and secy.-treas. of the United Public Workers, offered these statistics to point up the need:

- In 1940 4.2% of Negro men were doing skilled work.
- In 1945, to meet war needs, the figure rose to 4.7% and since has dropped again.
- Less than .1% (one in 1,000) of Negro women are in skilled jobs.
- In 1949 Negro families' median income was $1,364, less than half that of the median white family.

MUST BREAK THROUGH: A survey of 30 key industrial sections by the conservative Urban League showed, according to a report released last week, that short of drastic measures "there will be very few Negro workers in the manpower mobilization program." Guinier said:

> "The Negro people have had their organizations for the fight for civil rights and other community needs. But they have lacked an organization which would make the elimination of this acute job discrimination its central task. That is the primary reason for the National Negro Labor Council."

The Greater N.Y. Council warned:

> Unless Negroes can break through into the skilled crafts we are in danger of always being the last hired, first fired and even when employed, being the low-paid general laborer.

Every Monday night from 8 to 10 p.m. the Council's jobs committee office is open at 53 W. 125th St. (SAcramento 2-0880) to register applicants and jobs.

THE WORLD

Franco dooms 11 as U.S. speeds aid

IN Barcelona, where last March city-wide strikes gave evidence of smoldering anti-Franco resistance, a Franco court-martial last week sentenced 11 "extremists" to death and five others to prison terms as long as 30 years. From meager press dispatches it was impossible to say who the Barcelona 11 were, or how they had defied the Franco dictatorship. But many feared these death sentences might be a prelude for execution of the strike leaders still in prison.

Washington meanwhile was preparing to send Lincoln MacVeagh to Spain as ambassador along with a military mission to work out a bargain: more money to keep Franco's failing economy from collapse in return for Spanish military bases.

At President Truman's Thursday press conference newsmen asked for a comment on the report by right-wing U.S. labor leaders that Gen. Eisenhower was dead set against bringing Franco Spain into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (In Paris Eisenhower denied it.) The President said he was not "very fond of the Franco government." The N.Y. **Times** commented:

> This is not the first time, however, that Mr. Truman has made sharp comments about the government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, only to approve closer relations with that government when requested to do so by the State and Defense Departments.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee asked the President to intervene to save the Barcelona 11, called a rally at New York's Hotel Capitol March 5 to protest the proposed military pact with Franco and to demand safety for the Spanish strike leaders.

Hoy, Havana

Quirino has S.O.S. breakfast with USN

EARLY last month Elpidio Quirino, president of the Philippine Republic, sat down to breakfast with what the Manila **Times** described as "top U.S. Navy brass." He asked for tighter U.S. naval patrols, ostensibly to see that no "outside" aid reached the Hukbalahaps, resistance fighters battling against Quirino and U.S. forces. The conservative **Times** headlined the story: QUIRINO SEEKS U.S. AID FOR ALL-OUT HUK FIGHT.

Almost monthly the Quirino regime has declared an all-out fight on the Hukbalahap movement which began with resistance to the Japanese occupation and has persisted to harry the U.S. occupation. But the breakfast conference was the first time Quirino has called on the U.S. Navy.

The fighting has now spread to most of the islands in the republic, is carried on by an organized regular army of fighters and a large army of irregulars: peasants by day, guerrillas by night. The Quirino government is admittedly corrupt, sustained in power by U.S. military strength, economically controlled by U.S. money.

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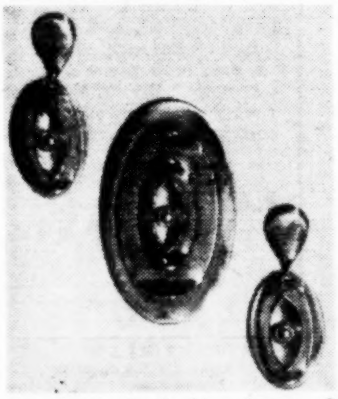

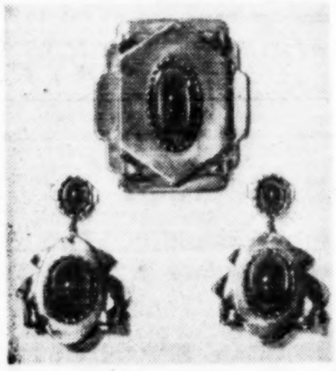

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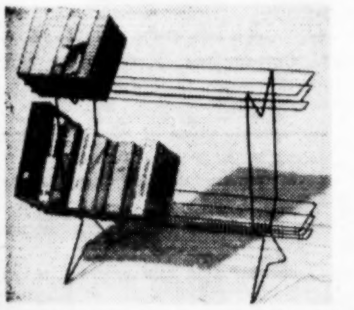

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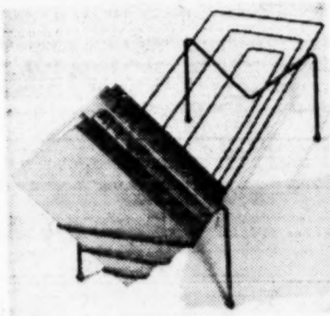

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By James Aronson

THERE never was a time when there has been a greater need to understand why one part of this world is trying to get the rest of it into a frightful mess—or a **more** frightful mess. In the last few months a lot of informed people have been thinking about that and have put their information into some excellent pamphlets which have kept this reader away from hard-covered books for many nights running. These pamphleteers, writing in different parts of the world, are all guilty of one thing in common: anti-mess activities. A selection, made reluctantly (because so many good ones must go unmentioned for lack of space), offers the following:

WE SAW FOR OURSELVES, the report by 19 Americans—workers, teachers, ministers, housewives and one lawyer—on their trip to Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, after the Warsaw Peace Congress. Refreshing for its non-professional approach to a story which cannot be told too often, but which too often is told from a plateau of uncritical adulation. Generously illustrated. Typical photo: bearded, affable Dr. John A. Kingsbury, poking a curious finger into a new car coming off the assembly line at the Stalin Auto Plant in Moscow. New World Review, 114 E. 32d St., N. Y. C. 16. 100 pp. 25c, 5 for $1, 15c each for 25 or more.

RUSSIA IS FOR PEACE, by D. N. Pritt, brilliant English lawyer and analyst of world affairs. A clear, lucid pocket book which tells who the Russians are and why they behave like Russians; discusses the events of 1939, the Security Council veto, atomic control, disarmament, the Berlin "blockade" and Korea. Prefaced by this modest challenge: "I feel justified in asking: Read this, please, with an open mind; see what I write and what is actually happening in the world; and then make up your mind." Order through Imported Pub. & Prod., Rm. 1525, 22 E. 17th St., N. Y. C. 3. 106 pp. 60c. Mailed from London.

ARE WE BEING TALKED INTO WAR? by Corliss Lamont. A simply written, admirably researched pamphlet listing the calls by Big U. S. Brass, military and civilian, for blood-letting, bomb-dropping and throat-slitting of any and all who do not agree with them—especially if their name is Stalin. 29 pp. Also by Lamont: SOVIET AGGRESSION: MYTH OR REALITY?—20 compelling reasons why the author feels the Soviet Union will not resort to military aggression. It comes down to this unmistakable conclusion: "The manufactured crisis depends on the manufactured myth." 15 pp. Both obtainable from Basic Pamphlets, Box 242, Cathedral Sta., N. Y. C. 25. Each 5c, 12 for 50c, 30 for $1.

SO YOU HAVE A RIGHT, by Fred Wright. A sparkling little history of the Bill of Rights with text and drawings by the most consistently funny and most optimistic cartoonist on the Left in America. The cheerful illustrations drive the historical point home. Published by Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees Union, 210 W. 50th St., N. Y. C. 19. 24 pp. 10c, 100 for $5.

THE PEOPLE'S CASE, Story of the IWO, by Albert E. Kahn. The whole shabby document, ably presented, of the government's attempt to destroy this fraternal organization of people of every color, religion and national origin—and, not so incidentally, to wipe out low-cost life and health insurance. Cover by Rockwell Kent. IWO Policyholders Comm., 80 E. 11th St., N. Y. C. 24 pp. 5c.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE, by Mary Yeates. The shocking story of color discrimination all over the world, how it affects the living conditions, civil rights, political freedom, wages and social security of working people. It does more than tell the story: it gives the reasons for discrimination and, with admirable calm and logic, tells how to fight the disease. A serious study, strikingly illustrated, with 207 footnotes. A W F T U publication. Available from Imported Pub. and Prod., Rm. 1525, 22 E. 17th St., N. Y. C. 3. 80 pp. 35c, mail order, 45c.

FREE OUR HAND! by Asbury Howard, Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers regional director at Bessemer, Ala. Howard writes "as a black man" who discovered he couldn't "trace all my troubles to the color of my skin." A plea from a strong heart and a fine mind for Negro-white unity. The conclusion: "Speaking for the Negro workers, I say we ask no special privilege. Just help us to get our hand free that's tied behind our back—and you'll find there's no power in this land that can hold back the American worker." Mine-Mill Press Dept., Suite 412, Tabor Bldg., 16th & Curtis, Denver 2, Colo.

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